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DIRECT ACTION IN DENMARK AND GERMANY Dockside campaign against missiles

By NIELS JONASSEN

Young war resisters from Denmark, Germany, Holland, Norway, Britain and New Zealand conferred in Germany recently.

They heard Michael Randle, Chairman of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, and Arlo Tatum, Secretary of the War Resisters' International, discuss direct action and Niels Mathiesen report on the work being undertaken in Norway by the Oslo Study Group on Non-violence.

After the conference Danish war resister Niels Jonassen returned to Denmark to help plan the direct action project at Aarhus which he describes below. Others went to Dortmund where last Sunday four British, one New Zealand, and two German pacifists entered the British Rocket Training Centre as part of a protest demonstration supported by more than 350 German people.

Among those entering the base were Colin and Sally Johnson and Elaine Rich, who were at the Swaffham missile base demonstration in Britain, also Harry Marsh, Chairman of the London Pacifist Youth Action Group, and Francis Hansen, a New Zealand conscientious objector.

DANISH war resisters started a 36-hour picket on Tuesday of last week as dock workers at Aarhus began to unload Nike guided missiles for the Danish forces from the US freighter Mormacjork.

Thousands of leaflets had been distributed to the dockers and in the neighbourhood on the previous day warning against nuclear weapons and suggesting that Denmark use its military budget to give aid to the underdeveloped countries and so fight the causes of war.

Police barred the way when the direct action group arrived at the point where unloading was proceeding, so the six pacifists from various places in Denmark, sat down near the bow of the ship at a spot where everyone going to and from the vessel had to pass. Pressmen were already there and photos and interviews appeared with big headlines on the front pages of the afternoon papers.

The workers, who in the beginning seemed to take no notice of the picket, became more interested as time went by. More people joined the group, among them the chairman of the Danish Section of the War Resisters' International (Aldrig mere Kring), Svend Hugaard. The chairman of the dock workers' union in Aarhus expressed his support for the picket and regretted that the workers were unloading the missiles. But it was a question of their livelihood, he said.

During the evening a great number of people visited the picket site and many leaflets were given out. A surprisingly large number of people expressed their support. Some came with cigarettes and hot coffee.

During the night a photographer and a journalist from a Copenhagen picture paper arrived in a car after a seven-hour journey from the capital.

When the workers returned to work on Wednesday morning it was evident that they were now very conscious of the picket, and at noon the trade union chairman told the pickets that all the workers had a very bad conscience and felt that they ought to do something. And when work was resumed after the lunch break

● ON BACK PAGE



Photo: John Cox.

London gets a reminder—of the first A-bombing. Youth members of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament poster parading on Hiroshima Day, last week. See "Youth CND picket Whitehall," page three.

'Aggressive' sales policy needed BRITISH BOMBS ARE BEST

. . . but business is bad

man; his duty is to attempt to discover the potential requirements for arms of the Government to which he is accredited and to bring to its notice the details of the equipment the United Kingdom has to offer. . . . Not enough emphasis is being placed either by the Ministry of

By CHRISTOPHER FARLEY

Supply or by the Service Departments on that part of an Attaché's function which is to promote the overseas sale of British equipment. . . . The increasingly competitive and more specialised nature of the world trade in arms makes it essential that the Service Attaché be fully briefed to become an effective promoter of the sale of British equipment."

O.K., he's a salesman. That's that problem settled.

Now, what about helping the salesmanship? That's simple: give the weapon a boost—use it in the British forces.

You think "our boys" have got the best equipment, lady? Don't you believe it, says the Report. They've been given their weapons for a slightly different reason:

"Manufacturers developing military equipment often advance as an argument for its adoption by HM Forces the fact that, unless it is so adopted, they will be virtually precluded from selling it abroad."

British boys were mowed down by British guns in the Dardanelles; more recently it was tanks for Egypt; then military aircraft for Cuban dictator Batista until the very fortnight of his overthrow.

But this doesn't trouble the arms gents. unduly. (At least the victims had the con-

solation of knowing that British bombs are best.) And if testimony from the Foreign Office and the Service Departments confirms that sales decisions are taken primarily for commercial reasons, who are soldiers to raise objections?

Now the business has established a Supply Attaché at Her Majesty's Embassy in Bonn. This "unique appointment," recalling Whitehall's love of Germany, was made, says the Report, "in recognition of the special importance of Germany as a potential customer for arms."

But the competition is terrible! It's these Americans. (In the sales business we should really call them "our American rivals," as does Committee Chairman Sir Spencer Summers).

"I think everybody from the Ambassador downwards is a salesman for America," moaned Mr. St. Barbe, director of de Havillands. "Every American diplomat is really a salesman."

So there's only one possible conclusion for the Committee:

"The advantages, political, strategic and economic, which flow to the United Kingdom as a result of overseas sales of arms make it imperative that the promotion of sales be pursued with as much drive as is possible."

And perhaps to remind us that the best bombs are given away free, the Report was published on Hiroshima Day.

Let's be fair. The Committee must have a final word:

"Armaments tend to become obsolescent soon after they reach the Services."

Now doesn't that sound like an opening for a little more business, gentlemen?

THE gentlemen whose life work is to spread around the globe the instruments of destruction had quite a field day last week.

After months of erudite research a Report* came to light. Too long to be read by the layman, too important to rate as news, it took a look at the export trade in British arms—and didn't care overmuch for what it saw.

So the all-Party Committee of back-bench MPs which produced this Report had some advice to hand out.

The world market in arms "is increasing year by year, and is becoming highly competitive."

Mind you, military exports by the Government and private manufacturers only average a little over £100,000,000 a year. But there's a real chance of bigger things to come.

But first there's the problem of salesmanship. You've got to plug these bombs. What has the Committee to say about that?

Oh, the British! All this reserve and stiff upper lip. And as for the understatement . . .! If the bomb's a big one, why don't they say so?

So the Committee raked around its evidence and came up with a winner. Not exactly original, but it sounds brilliant enough: make the military Attaché the salesman.

Of course, you can't suggest it quite as straight as that. First a bit of verbal gymnastics till it comes out like this:

"An Attaché . . . is not considered by the Ministry of Supply to be a sales-

*Second Report from the Select Committee on Estimates: sale of military equipment abroad (HM Stationery Office, 9s.).

Does the world want this giant?

B. G. COOPER reviews

"The United Nations as a Political Institution," by H. G. Nicholas. Oxford University Press, 21s.

THE desire for world peace has in the 20th century found coherent expression in two giant organisations unique in mankind's history—the League of Nations and the United Nations Organisation. Genuine idealism and revulsion against the evils of totalitarian war gave them birth.

The total failure of the League, and the gradually growing authority of UNO, have been respectively the most dismal and one of the most hopeful features in the landscape of international relations in the modern era. There has already been an enormous amount of controversial writing about the value and possibilities of UNO; Mr. Nicholas does not concern himself with the question "Is it getting anywhere?" but "What is it like?" and "How does it work?" As an exposition of UNO as an institution in action, Mr. Nicholas's book is informative, absorbing and exceptionally valuable.

A useful opening chapter sketches UNO's

origins, from the Washington Declaration of January, 1942, through the Moscow and Teheran Declarations of the following year, to Dumbarton Oaks and finally the 1945 San Francisco gathering. The tempo of this conference, hurried because of the pace of events in Europe, "left its marks on the Charter at many points in loose and wordy or untidy drafting," but nothing essential was omitted and filibustering avoided.

In the debates on the final draft, the voting foreshadowed the alignments of the power blocs which were to characterise the subsequent history of the General Assembly.

There is a careful and detailed comparison of the Covenant of the League and the Charter of UNO, showing not only the ways in which UNO profited from the League's mistakes—especially by abandoning the League's principle of unanimity of voting—but also the extent to which the Covenant was reproduced, albeit with slightly altered phraseology, in the Charter, and the points at which UNO developed to the full, elements already partially emergent under the League.

ECOSOC arose out of the 1939 proposal for the League to have a Central Com-

mittee for Economic and Social Questions. Indeed, the lavish declarations of the Charter lauding the desirability of economic progress and social well-being throughout the world in comparison with the Covenant's silence on such issues, are a testimony to the development of an international social conscience. "But compared with the precision of the Charter's provisions in the political field what strikes one about the 'Welfare Internationalism' of the Charter is its vagueness, both structurally and procedurally, in the lack of clear indications as to the processes by which the organisation is to realise its pledges in these fields."

TEACHING PEACE

A profile by Margaret Tims of



Russell Johnson

AMONGST this year's crop of American summer visitors is Russell Johnson, Peace Education Secretary for the American Friends Service Committee's New England office at Cambridge, Mass. After nearly ten years, he has the longest continuous service in this work, and is Dean of Peace Education Secretaries in the United States.

He is now using six months' special leave to make an extensive tour of Europe with his wife, Irene, their three children, a Volkswagen and two tents. They are primarily on vacation, but Russell Johnson has one major assignment, which he is fulfilling now as Director of an AFSC international seminar at Cracow in Poland from Aug. 6-27. The theme of the seminar is the place of the small nation in preserving peace, the hostess will be a British Quaker, Stella Alexander, and other discussion leaders were to come from Austria, Ireland and Russia.

Russell Johnson feels strongly that in any new initiative for peace the smaller nations, and especially Britain, must play a key rôle. Between the USA and the USSR, he suggests, the first need is to break down mutual fears and suspicion. America must also learn that economic democracy is as necessary as political democracy.

He is himself a disciple of Thoreau, after whom his elder son is named, and an admirer of Wilfred Wellock. He describes himself as a libertarian-socialist, believing in co-operation rather than State control and decentralisation rather than bureaucracy.

Reaching a new public

It is surprising to learn that Russell Johnson is not a member of the Society of Friends. He belongs to the Universalist Church, which is closely linked with the Unitarians, and he himself acts as a Unitarian Minister. But it was as a Methodist that he became a conscientious objector during the war, and at a Methodist camp for COs that he met his wife, who was the camp nurse.

Russell Johnson is a good friend of Peace News. On a previous visit to Europe in 1953 he made arrangements for distributing the air mail edition in the United States through the office of the AFSC. His only regret is that circulation does not increase, and he puts this down to the comparative lack of sophistication in the American peace movement, which has a largely religious basis. But to the politically-conscious minority of pacifists the paper is indispensable.

Through the nuclear disarmament movement he sees an opportunity to reach a new public, and he is Secretary of the Greater Boston Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. He has also served on the Non-Violent Action Committee against nuclear warfare, and as Treasurer of the Boston Act for Peace projects.

Some PN readers in London were able to meet the Johnson family at the Partisan coffee-house before they left for the continent, and enjoyed hearing about the "other America" that does not usually hit the headlines, but which may nevertheless be making history. They will be back for a few days at the beginning of September, when perhaps they will have something to say about the "other Europe" and its rôle in preserving peace.

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FERNE, SHAFTESBURY, DORSET

The first of the VIDs

TWO of the first "volunteers for the United Nations" have flown from the USA to Menoufia, Egypt.

Mr. and Mrs. Graham Leonard, junior experts in literacy, will work for one or two years at sacrificial pay under the auspices of Volunteers for International Development, Inc., a unique new people-to-people programme committed to the goals of the United Nations. This first VID project will be executed in co-operation with the UNESCO Fundamental Education Training Centre there.

Before they left, Miss Julia Henderson, Director of the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs, told them: "The United Nations is happy that this day marks a big step forward in an exciting new experiment in co-operation for international development. This effort can be—and should be—a new and significant movement." VID works in co-operation with the United Nations though there is no direct administrative connection.

Dr. Amiya Chakravarty who was co-founder of the organisation with Raymond J. Magee, its executive secretary, explained to a farewell luncheon the potential of the movement for building international understanding.

"Arrangements have been made for several more projects in Ghana, Iran, and with refugees in Jordan," Mr. Magee stated. The organisation is launching a drive for funds, and several VID Membership Committees have already been established in other cities.

Trained volunteers will work shoulder to shoulder with villagers, constructing wells, teaching new methods of agriculture, health measures, and the sale and distribution of handicrafts.

5s FIGHTS WANT

A donation of 5s. can provide enough powdered milk to give 50 children a large glass of milk for one week, or one child milk for a year, says the Central Council for War on Want (9 Madeley Rd., London, W.5) which wants to organise 1,000 projects during this year.

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Youth CND picket Whitehall

ABOUT 80 young people took part in the Hiroshima Day picket in Whitehall last week. The 24-hour picket, nationally organised at short notice, was carried out by the Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Young men and women in about equal numbers took turns to walk up and down outside the entrance to Downing Street carrying posters and giving out leaflets.

The organiser, Peter Ritman, was especially pleased to find 30 young people ready to take part in the night picket which started at midnight, August 5-6. The pickets stayed through till the morning, taking it in turns to rest.

Leaving a few to patrol Whitehall, the pickets also managed four poster parades during the day—two at lunch-time, one to the special service at St. Paul's Cathedral at 6 p.m., and the last at 10 p.m.

The pickets, whose average age was about 17, found themselves often stopped by interested passers-by and numerous discussions were started. Press interest was considerable, too, reporters from nearly every national daily came to watch and question the demonstrators.

PREPARING FOR CND WEEK

A Day of Preparation (8 a.m. Friday, Sept. 11, to 8 a.m. Saturday, Sept. 12) for National Nuclear Disarmament Week and a Procession of Witness through York on the afternoon of Sept. 12, were two of the suggestions made at the recent Yorkshire Regional Committee of the CND.

SAHARA A-TEST

South African protest

AT the June inauguration of the Mothers' Anti-Atomic Bomb Organisation in Pretoria, South Africa, it was agreed to send a protest to the French Government concerning its forthcoming Sahara test.

The leaders of the organisation, two women authors, Sanet te Groen and Susan Kruger, say they were inspired by South African MP, Dr. C. de Wet, who said in the House of Assembly in early June that "the women of our country who may be the potential mothers of unborn, deformed generations should raise their voices so that the mothers of the world would follow in protest and so bring about an immediate end of nuclear tests."

The aim of the nation-wide campaign is the abolition of nuclear tests.

[H-protest team for Sahara?—p. 7.]

Briefly

The South African Treason Trial was reopened in Pretoria on August 3, when 30 accused faced a special court. The defence applied to the court to quash the indictment.

Servas, the work-study-travel organisation, hopes to develop activities in Australia, according to a report in the movement's new quarterly broadsheet (from Pat Knowles, Hamburg 39, Klarchenstr. 11, Germany). There are also growing branches in Mexico and Greece.

10 TIMES MORE WORK CAMPERS IN 1958

"WORK Camps Across the World," a new bi-monthly publication, was launched recently by the Co-ordination Committee for International Voluntary Work Camps, Unesco, Paris (\$5 yearly).

It replaces "International News" which was the bulletin of the Association of International Work Camps for Peace, published from London.

Rally will ask workers to quit missile base

Peace News Reporter

COACHLOADS of Direct Action supporters will be coming from Corby, Kettering, Wellingborough, Northampton and London to join the rally outside the Polebrook missile base on Saturday, August 22.

The purpose of the rally which was announced in last week's PN, will be to talk with the construction workers on the missile site and ask them to leave their work and/or join the demonstration. The Peterborough Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament group has been picketing the base for several weeks and already at least two building workers have left the site.

Several TU branches are supporting the rally, and CND groups in the Midlands will also send coachloads it is hoped. Volunteers coming from London should assemble in Pancras Road, between King's Cross and St. Pancras stations, at 10 a.m. Coach seats will cost about 12s, which will be collected on the coaches. Volunteers from London are asked to contact the Direct Action Committee in advance (344 Seven Sisters Rd., London, N.4. STA 7062).

The programme for the demonstration is: assemble at Polebrook Village (near Oundle) at 2 p.m. and march to the rocket base, arriving at 2.30 p.m. The rally will

be held for about an hour outside the perimeter fence.

On the week-end before the rally—Aug. 15 and 16—Direct Action supporters will gather at 11 a.m. on both days at the New Town Centre by the Bus Station in Corby for leafleting and canvassing in the Northants area.

The Direct Action Committee's campaign in the Suffolk area ended on July 27 with week-end vigils at the Rattlesden Rocket Base and the Sutton Heath H-bomb storage site.

The Committee cancelled their tentatively arranged civil disobedience demonstration for August 8 since the H-bomb issue was already well in the public eye due to the ferment in the trade union and Labour movement.

"This publicity about the developments within the Labour Party and trade unions will continue during the Trade Union Congress meeting in September and the Labour Party Conference in October," say the Committee.

PEACE GROUP WANTS TO KNOW

What happens in germ warfare plant?

THE Canadian Fellowship of Reconciliation in Edmonton, Alberta, are trying to find out what is happening at the Germ and Biological Warfare research station located at Suffield, Alberta. The Group recently showed the film of the Swaffham demonstration "Rocket Site Story."

"We had a remarkably good meeting for this city," R. A. Mossman, President of the Group, told Peace News. "About 30 people were present, mostly not members of the FoR, and they were not only impressed with the film but eager to do something. The most likely result will be a joint committee of all allied groups working for peace, and to ban the nuclear missile production. . . . We are also proposing to undertake some social and welfare work, as some of us feel it is deeds, and not words, that really matter."

Nyasaland repression

THE bullying and repressive measures after the declaration of Emergency in Nyasaland can be directly traced to the "emphatic publicity" given to the massacre plot by Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, and by the British Colonial Secretary says a statement on the findings of the Devlin Commission issued by The Africa Bureau.

The statement continues: "The Africa Bureau can testify to the prolonged efforts of both Chiefs and Congress leaders to use constitutional and legal means of conducting their campaign on behalf of their people against Federation. The policy of persistently disregarding these efforts goes far to explain the challenge which was made to the authority of Government."

"The publication of the new paper," says the Chairman of the Co-ordination Committee, G. Nicholas Paster, "is concrete evidence of the growth of the movement."

The Committee's statistics show that the number of active work campers in 1958 was ten times the number in 1953. The figures for the five continents are:

SIX YEARS—FACTS AND FIGURES

	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958
Africa	48	1,732	1,407	609	12,422	13,245
The Americas	6,937	6,864	7,171	7,232	77,368	76,510
Asia	2,297	35,666	85,711	114,674	143,375	150,098
Australasia	11	40	212	200	375	60
Europe	22,446	24,981	20,672	21,183	18,790	73,267
Totals	31,729	69,283	115,173	143,898	252,330	313,180

EIGHT PAGES AGAIN



WE are glad to return to normal production after the printing dispute.

In making arrangements for producing the 4-page emergency issues that you have been reading during the past seven weeks we have had the sympathetic co-operation of union

leaders and employers and employees involved in various ways in the dispute. That everyone concerned was ready to do all they could to see that Peace News appeared each week (even to the extent of cancelling summer holidays) is something for which we are very grateful.

We have expressed our gratitude to them. I'm sure they would be happy to know that our readers were expressing their own appreciation by sending a donation to the Peace News Fund—the special form of co-operation necessary for the continued existence of the paper in the months ahead.

THE EDITOR.

Contributions since July 31: £33 3s. 3d.

Total since Feb. 1: £631 3s. 6d.

Still needed: £1,869.

Anon., Falmouth: 2s. 6d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 5, Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.



Missiles can destroy millions . . . and those who protest can suffer destruction too. This is the wrecked vigil camp of Omaha Action, the recent protest project at the Mead ICBM base near Omaha, Nebraska. Ten young men entered the camp late one night, kicked everything over, threw the tent into a tree, broke glassware and threw water around. They finally abandoned preparations to build a fire.

Michael Scott at Youth Festival

From Dr. FRANCIS RONA

NEW inspirations and a new technique of resistance to oppression and force had come not from Christian institutions but had been discovered by Gandhi and his followers in South Africa and India said the Rev. Michael Scott when he spoke in Vienna on August 1. The laws of the Gospel were not kept by most Christians.

Over 500 delegates and observers listened as he led a discussion on "Religion and Peace" organised by Christian pacifists at the Youth Festival. Ralph Keithahn of the USA, who worked with Gandhi, was in the chair.

Michael Scott pointed out that the attitude of the churches today was similar to that of Dostoevsky's "Great Inquisitor" who did not want to acknowledge Christ when He appeared in the streets of Seville: "Why did you come back? You gave us the Gospel, we gave it to the people. The matter is closed. You can't add anything to it."

The people belonging to the "white civilisation" had committed the most beastly crimes—the false concept of national superiority had led in our generation to the extermination of 6,000,000 innocent people in gas chambers. People didn't want to look at facts, to see that two-thirds of the world's population was living at starvation level. The world's population would probably double by the end of the century. What would the hungry people do. Peaceful solutions had to be rediscovered.

About 20 of the delegates spoke in the discussion, among them members of the

British, French, Austrian and Dutch Fellowship of Reconciliation and a Catholic from the USA. A delegate from Shanghai, General Secretary of the Chinese YMCA, reported that there were some 3,700,000 Christians in China, most of whom were Catholics. The USSR was represented by three delegates. Pastor Machalski of West Germany spoke in place of Dr. Niemoller, who could not attend because of illness.

Over 1,000 reporters have attended the Festival discussions which have been completely free. Reports of skirmishes which have appeared in the British Press are not correct. The Festival programme has been undisturbed.

Dr. Rona sums up the Festival in PN next week.

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TOP AND BOTTOM

THE news that Mr. Khrushchov and President Eisenhower are to meet some time in September has been welcomed with great enthusiasm. Although we welcome the changes that may be foreshadowed by this meeting of the figureheads of the two great antagonistic states, we are unable to share in this enthusiasm. We have a distaste and suspicion for this kind of solution to world problems.

The cold war (or any war situation for that matter) is not something that can be wished away over a cocktail party. It is the product of too many forces that are deep-rooted in both the Eastern and Western "ways of life." To mention only a few of these forces, there are the obvious political, ideological and economic rivalries; and the less obvious tensions and destructive impulses that are caused by the profoundly unsatisfactory ways of life that both sides have created.

The cold war and the arms race are the final products of these forces. But not only are they products, they themselves become causes. The arms race causes increased fear and greater suspicion and also gives many people a vested interest in its continuation.

These forces are a background to all top negotiations. It is because of them that the Foreign Ministers' conference failed, that the conference on ending the tests has made such little progress. These forces will still be operating when Khrushchov and Eisenhower meet. The actions of these two men will be as much determined by them as were those of the Foreign Ministers. It is for this reason that we do not believe their meeting is likely to be fruitful.

★ ★ ★

IT would be silly to be dogmatic about this. There have always been two ways that the cold war situation might resolve itself. The first, and most likely, was an all-out war that would destroy human life. The second was a "1984 solution" by which the two big powers came to a joint agreement to control the world. Mr. Khrushchov foreshadowed this when he said "If the big brothers agree they can see that the little brothers agree also."

Just because life would continue, this second "solution" is preferable. This does not mean that we should accept it. It might well take the form of a vast police state where the individual human being counted for less and less and where all worth while human values were continually stamped on. Orwell's nightmare would have come true.

This is to paint the situation in its blackest colours. If we are to meet the situation realistically, it is as well, however, to face this.

★ ★ ★

THE social and political forces at work in our society could produce either of these "solutions." If we are to make real changes, it is these forces that must be tackled. It is no use constantly inveighing against the arms race; almost everybody agrees that it is evil (we are reminded of the soldiers who, seeing a pacifist banner "Say no to war," yelled out "we agree"). The question is, how to stop the arms race.

The traditional pacifist answer has been to refuse to take part in it. This was a limited answer because it tackled the iceberg, as it were, at only the visible part, the submerged part being left untouched. But it was a valuable answer because of its insistence on (1) the responsibility of the individual, (2) the power of the individual's action.

A philosophy that is relevant to the world we live in must seek to apply these principles to the submerged part of the iceberg. But not only must the principles be applied, they must be developed. The field of race relations provides one example of the kind of development we mean. It is very valuable that individual whites should, in their own personal lives, treat people of different colours as equals. It is even more important that this behaviour has a social impact through the setting up of interracial communities, etc.

We are convinced that this is the way to develop real solutions in the general political field. We are also convinced that little has been done to develop them. The great majority of people will continue to look at top talks for a solution until a new way is found.

Fighting in Laos

IT was an important point in the 1957 agreement which brought the internal fighting in Laos to an end that the Laotian Government should thereafter follow a strictly neutral policy.

The Pathet Lao movement, the descendant of the Lao Issara movement which, with the encouragement of China, had fought for and secured independence from France, was allowed to form a new party (named Lao Haskat), several of its leaders were taken into the Cabinet, and a part of its forces was incorporated in the royal army.

The geographical situation of the country, with China as northern neighbour, North and South Vietnam adjacent in the east, Cambodia in the south and Siam in the west, renders two things inevitable: that internal Laotian political differences are perpetuated and intensified under these mutually contradictory influences, and that the two shadows in the background, America and Communism, can neither of them give up their efforts to pull this should-be neutral country over to their side.

In the partial election of May, 1958, Lao Haskat was so successful that it became reasonably certain that a corresponding success in a general election would put them in power—much to the chagrin of the Americans who had not recognised the 1957 agreement and had not gone further than to declare that they would sabotage it.

And very soon after it had been signed they organised SEATO, the military alliance in South-East Asia which is not only anti-Communist but also anti-neutralist. They also said that in making peace with Pathet Lao the Laotian Government had embarked on a dangerous course.

When the 1958 elections were over, Prime Minister Prince Souvanna Phouma, who incidentally is the half-brother of the leader of Pathet Lao, Prince Souphanouvong, forced all Pathet Lao representatives including his half-brother out of the Government, suspended parliament and "postponed" the coming election.

These are the facts underlying the renewal of internal fighting in Laos. The pacifist condemns the use of violent means towards the attainment of even legitimate aims, but he is not likely to find it difficult to know where his sympathies lie.

The Times & Iceland

THE Times article on the fishing dispute with Iceland published on July 29 glossed over a number of important factors, a Peace News reader who has recently returned from Iceland tells us.

The Times said that there was no evidence that the Icelandic waters had been over-fished, but the Icelandic Fishing Laboratory statistics show that the plaice increased and became "fully grown" during World War II when there was no English fishing, and that both supply and size fell rapidly when English trawling was resumed.

The Times also overlooked the fact that 26 nations have wider fishing limits and territorial waters than three miles. Iceland claims 12 miles since fishing is the main source of income for the Icelandic and is likely to be for the next 50 years. When China and the USSR introduced 12-mile limits Britain did not object.

The British naval vessels in the area completely dwarf the five Icelandic fishery patrol vessels and obscure any view of the British trawlers when they sail between the Icelandic and British boats. The Icelandic patrols have civilian crews (although their officers wear a naval type of uniform). None of them have had any military training since there is no military service and no Icelandic armed forces.

The patrol vessels now have a small gun (made in 1874: the type used for firing salutes) for firing warning shots of bullets, not explosive shells.

These "shots" have been the first ever fired by Icelanders, who have an old tradition of non-violence.

The Times article closed with a reference to Communist influence in the Icelandic Government up to last December, but neglected to mention that every party is for continuing the struggle. The elections in October under the new constitution are likely to give a Conservative majority (and possibly two seats to the Non-Communist Pacifist Party, "the Peoples' Defence League," which has much support for its campaign to get the American bases out of the country and the country out of NATO).

... barrier of silence

PUBLIC opinion in Iceland has been further outraged at the British barrier of silence which has met an appeal from the Icelandic clergy for a peaceful solution to the fishing dispute.

The letter sent from the Icelandic clergy above the signature of Bishop Einasson to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, to all the political parties, and to 30 British newspapers, was read in Icelandic churches on July 19.

Britain, the letter points out, is not the only country which has opposed the new 12-mile limit. But she is the only country to use force of arms.

They remind the Church of England that "this action of the British may cost the lives of Icelandic fishermen," and express the hope that there will be a

better understanding within the Church of England and amongst the British people of the facts of the fishing dispute.

It is to be hoped that either the Church Times (which has not been affected by the printing dispute) or Lambeth Palace will wake up to the fact that a reply is nearly a month overdue.

Polish welcome

THERE are two sides to the tremendous reception that the Poles gave to Mr. Nixon. The positive side is that once more the Poles have demonstrated that they want freedom and that they do not accept their position as part of the Eastern bloc as a permanent one. We are reminded once again, as we were by the Poles and the Hungarians in 1956, that the Communist bloc is not permanent and unchanging, that it is in fact a very unstable combination.

The negative side of the reaction is that many Western politicians may take the welcome as a sign of the rightness of their policies. They will become convinced that their stereotype of the captive peoples of the East and the free peoples of the West is a correct one. This might well lead to a general hardening of their attitudes. In this connection, it is sad that the Poles gave this welcome to such a reactionary politician as Mr. Nixon (though obviously the Poles' welcome was not meant to be a personal one).

To a certain extent the Poles have encouraged Western politicians to have this stereotype by their admiration for all things American. Many visitors have commented on this. Nor is it surprising; the close ties between Poland and the USA caused by the emigration of Poles to America at the end of the last century and the experience of the Poles under Stalin have combined to make America seem something of a Utopia.

We can only hope that the Poles take to heart Mr. Lester Pearson's comments last week when he said: "We, especially we on the North American continent, should awake from our dream of a superior civilisation merely because we have a car in every garage and colour TV in every room."

Tories shamed

MANY British Conservatives, inside and outside Parliament, were deeply troubled in their consciences by the Devlin Report on Nyasaland and by the murder of 11 Kenya Africans in Hola prison camp. These Tories were particularly shocked by the attitude of the Government, which appeared to be unperturbed at these indictments of its colonial policy.

The Conservative MPs denounced their Government in private, but were quite prepared to troop meekly into the Government lobby at the word of command. When it came to the point of action—voting—they did nothing, because Party is held to be more important than conscience.

This lack of "the guts to stand up for what they know to be right" was admirably exposed in the Right-wing Labour weekly, Forward, on July 31 by its editor, Francis Williams. "To vote," he wrote, "is the most important single act to which conscience can—or should—compel them. . . . So long as the crack of the Party whip is more important to them than the voice of conscience, then whatever crime or folly takes the stage the Government has no need to fear the consequences."

" . . . This means," continued Mr. Williams, "that the whole Parliamentary democracy is derided and mocked. If men are no longer to be moved by honour, if the national interest is never to be accepted as superior to the Party advantage, then the very foundations upon which democracy depends are shaken. . . . Well-meaning but weak, they commit the greatest crime of all—they bow the head to an evil that they fully recognise for what it is."

Immediately below Francis Williams' denunciation of Tory Party loyalty, appeared an editorial comment on the forthcoming nuclear arms debate at the Labour Party annual conference. The two articles should be compared.

"It is essential," says the comment, "for the nuclear pacifists to remember one thing. Majorities, like minorities, have rights. Once the conference endorses the new policy statement . . . it will be imperative for all sections of the movement to stand loyally by the majority decision. . . . The public has respect for a Party which can discuss publicly the appalling political problems presented by the hydrogen bomb. But it will deservedly have none for one which wrangles at the very time it is asking for its vote."

So you have to put aside your conscience at the operative moment, and in the cause of Party loyalty support a policy you believe to be fundamentally wrong! And no doubt most Labour "rebels" will do just that. "Why don't these cowards speak their minds?" Francis Williams asks of the Tories. He might also have looked nearer home.

IN PERSPECTIVE

America's defence scandal

HIRING RETIRED GENERALS TO WIN ARMS CONTRACTS

A CARTOON in the August 1 New Yorker (American counterpart to Punch) shows a missile manufacturer instructing six recently-hired ex-military officers in civilian clothes: "Remember this, men. You're now executives of Jet-Age, Incorporated, so for Pete's sake stop saluting each other."

Basis for the gibe is the current Congressional investigation of munitions firms' hiring retired military leaders who can use their influence to secure lucrative government contracts.

"In effect you were trying to buy not only the applicant's ability," was the understatement made by the investigating Subcommittee's chairman, Representative F. Edward Hebert, in questioning an official of North American Aviation regarding a classified advert placed by that company in the "Wall Street Journal" for "a military adviser with upper military rank."

Lobbying on legislation

The investigation has not been an all-out probe of the munitions industry, such as the memorable one conducted by the Nye Committee in the early 1930s. It has been limited to the practice of hiring former military leaders and to lobbying on war production questions by organisations such as the National Association of Manufacturers and Aero Space Industries.

The latter organisation was ordered by the Committee to produce a list of its cocktail party guests after its president, Orval Cook, a retired Air Force general, testified that in addition to \$1,419,116 in dues and assessments, the organisation had collected \$20,198 solely for "expenses" during the past year.

The National Association of Manufacturers, main organisation of American big business, was asked to list dues collected from member companies which are among the 100 top war contractors. Lambert Miller, its chief counsel, admitted to the

LETTER FROM AMERICA By Jim Peck

organisation's lobbying on legislation affecting the Defence Department in general and specifically in opposing continuation of the Renegotiation Act, under which the Defence Department can recover what it considers excessive charges under government contracts.

An overcharge of \$4,419,000 on a single Navy contract was investigated by the Subcommittee. The name of the corporation involved was not revealed because the case has been referred to the Justice Department for possible criminal prosecution. In this connection the Subcommittee's chairman accused the Defence Department of trying to undermine the investigation by denying the General Accounting Office access to pertinent reports and records.

The embarrassing party

When questioned on this matter at a Press conference, President Eisenhower refused to discuss it and became visibly angry. Yet it was the President's mention of a "munitions lobby" at an earlier Press conference which helped to get the investigation under way. The main factor which brought about the probe was efforts to head off an amendment to this year's Defence Appropriations Bill that would have prevented any retired admiral or general from being hired by a munitions firm for five years after leaving the service. This amendment was defeated only after the current investigation was promised.

The day the hearings opened, coincidentally, invitations were sent out by the three biggest missile manufacturers for a dinner at Washington's Hotel Statler in honour of Lieutenant General Bernard Shriever of the Air Force. "The timing of the party and the wording of the invitations were reported to have caused considerable embarrassment and indignation within the Air Force," commented the New York Times. "Representatives of the Air Force were said to have suggested that the party be cancelled."

Its hosts were Dan Kimball, a former secretary of the Navy and now president of Aerojet-General, Frank Pace, Jr., another former secretary of the Navy and now chairman of the board of General Dynamics Corp., and William Bergen, president of the Martin Co.

When Vice-Admiral Hyman Rickover appeared before the sub-committee he at first refused to supply the names of retired military officers who had tried to influence him on behalf of their new employers. He subsequently did, however, under the agreement that the names would not be made public until an inquiry into impropriety became necessary.

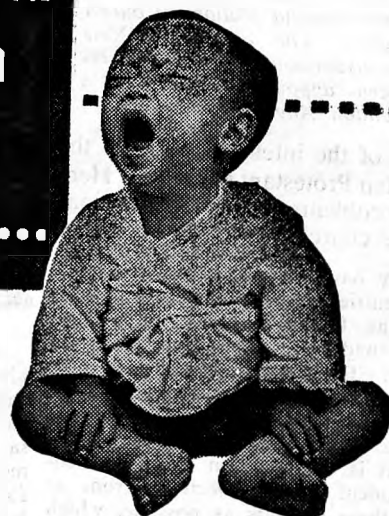
Above temptation?

Although some of the retired officers who testified admitted the need of minimal legislation to curb the abuses, others, such as Rear-Admiral H. A. Hauser, retired, opposed any restriction whatsoever. His testimony brought from the Subcommittee chairman the comment: "Don't you think that's a little naive? What makes an officer so sacrosanct? Just because he wears a uniform?"

The military attitude toward the investigation is illustrated by Arthur Radford, retired 4-star general, who is a director of Philco Corp. and Molybdenum Corp. He said he was disturbed that it would "suggest that we in America may gradually be moving toward the view of a bygone day that might best be expressed by the term 'the devil theory of war.'"

The Subcommittee itself is "fearful that its investigation could create the impression that defence policy and contracts are being influenced by a powerful 'munitions lobby,'" said the New York Times. The "impression" is certainly not a false one, according to testimony before the subcommittee thus far.

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OXFORD COMMITTEE FOR

FAMINE RELIEF



Supporters Include: Vera Brittain, The Very Rev. George F. MacLeod, Dame Sybil Thorndike.

Hiroshima Day sermon

The following quotations are from the sermon preached by Canon Collins in St. Paul's Cathedral on Hiroshima Day, 1959:

THERE is no shred of evidence in the Bible to support the view that those characteristics of the Christian way of love are meant to have practical significance only in our private and individual lives. On the contrary... the law and the prophets make their most insistent challenge to the nation, to man as a member of society, rather than to the individual as such.

For you and me, then, as Christians, to believe that we are made in God's image means, in practice, to meet every human situation in which we are involved, whether as private individuals or as members of society, with that love which has been revealed in Jesus. However mad or lacking in common sense it may seem to be, the Christian, if he is to be loyal to Christ, must apply the way of love in national and international affairs. He must see the Germans, the Russians, the Chinese, the Africans, the Indians, as much as the British, as persons made in God's image, as his brother for whom Christ died.

There are those Christians who believe that, in certain circumstances, it is justified for a Christian to take up arms in defence of the weak or to preserve a decent way of life. And there are those Christians, among whom I now count myself, who think that a Christian must refuse in all circumstances to give his support to the waging of warfare. But in the nuclear age pacifist and non-pacifist have a meeting-point from which to begin working together for peace: the non-pacifist believes that only what has been termed a "just war" can claim the support of Christians, and according to the accepted terms defining a "just war" no Christian could ever countenance the use of nuclear weapons. Let us then together, pacifist and non-pacifist alike, make this service of penitence and dedication a real landmark in our lives.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

CND art exhibition

"TO LIVE IN PEACE," an art exhibition organised by the Putney and Roehampton Nuclear Disarmament Campaign, with sponsors including Ruskin Spear, ARA, will be held in Putney from September 12 to 19, 1959. Artists who wish to submit works are invited to write to R. C. Fisher, Esq., 48 Heath Royal, Putney Hill, London, S.W.15.—JOHN GOLD, Press Officer, The Putney and Roehampton Nuclear Disarmament Campaign, London, S.W.15.

Funds for Direct Action

MOST readers of Peace News will, at some time during the past year, have been moved, stimulated and occasionally exasperated by the efforts of the Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War to rouse public support for unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons. We can and should pay humble tribute, not only to the selfless devotion of Committee members, but equally to those who have taken part in the more radical projects.

To run such a campaign, many supporters must have shown great generosity, but even the most sympathetic donor will be browed off with too frequent appeals for money. Most of us, for either good or bad reasons, have argued our "special" case for keeping on the right side of the law, although agreeing that the basic justification for the Direct Action Committee is to co-ordinate the efforts of those who repudiate the governmental will to use nuclear weapons, and who believe that repudiation is the personal responsibility of each one of us, to be expressed in such a way that will encourage others to force even governments to take note of the will of the people.

There are three conclusions which appear reasonable at the present time: (1) The DAC must carry on. (2) The struggle against nuclear weapons will probably be a long one. (3) We shall not achieve success until a much larger body of opinion is won over to the idea of using direct action methods against the seeming omnipotence of the H-bomb.

If the Direct Action movement is to flourish and grow, it is essential that we the applauders, the lookers-on, the fence-sitters, the if-ers and but-ers, make some small sacrifice to provide the DAC with a regular income. Surely a minimum of one shilling a week can hurt none, and should be given with a solemn pledge that the sum guaranteed will be sent regularly until sanity prevails.

Finally may I say this. I am writing entirely of my own volition, and expressing my own views. As I intend to practise what I preach, may I crave your indulgence and sign myself—AN IF-ER AND BUT-ER.

PPU conference on nuclear disarmament

BECAUSE it would clash with the opening of Nuclear Disarmament Week, the PPU Conference for members supporting the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War has been postponed until Sunday, September 27.

It will take place at the Gandhi Memorial Hall, Fitzroy Square, London, W.1, from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. and from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m.

As reported in Peace News on July 31, the purpose of the conference is to give all PPU members concerned with Direct Action or CND the opportunity to discuss together their common problems. Application for admission tickets should be sent to Stuart Morris at PPU headquarters, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. The meeting is confined to members of the PPU who are working in or through the CND or DAC.

DISTINGUISHED SERVICE?

The British Army Major who ran down and killed a Turkish-Cypriot man and woman in Cyprus last year has been awarded the MBE for "distinguished service" on the island.

THE GERMAN CHURCH DIVIDES OVER 'THE JUST WAR'

From a report sent from Germany to the New Zealand National Council of Churches. The author, a New Zealand conscientious objector, has recently been appointed curate of a North London Anglican church.

WHAT of the intellectual life of the German Protestant Church? Here the real problems and deep divisions within the church become a reality.

In a way hardly possible in the Anglo-Saxon countries, the intellectual tensions born in the faculties of the universities cast their shadows over the whole life of the church. The whole clergy receive their whole training in these faculties, the more notable professors of which are without doubt the most respected men in the church. It is the ambition of every theological student to hear lectures from as many of these scholars as possible, which means that they never spend long in any one university.

However, what I have called "intellectual" differences are often severely practical. It is not as though the students of Karl Barth cannot live in peace with those who think that Bultmann has all the right answers. The problems go much deeper and have their immediate roots in the years when the German Church had to live under Nazi rule.

For and against Hitler

The division arose between those who followed an old Lutheran tradition that obedience to the State was a Christian duty, no matter what the State did, and those who felt called to witness to their faith against Hitler and his dictatorship. This conflict split the German Church in two. It was not a denominational split but rather one arising out of a political situation and calling for a new sort of obedience. Many traditionalists followed Hitler. Others, they were fewer, formed the "Bekennende Kirche" (the witnessing church).

In Barman they formulated the famous creed which stated that our Lord Jesus Christ is the one and only Authority in the Church and that all obedience is due exclusively to him. Karl Barth was the spiritual leader of this part of the church. Martin Niemöller, imprisoned from 1937-1945, was their idol and leader in battle.

When in 1945 Germany lay defeated and broken, the leaders of the Christian resistance found themselves faced with the task of putting the Church in order. To this day this task has not really succeeded. The

old Nazi Christians were removed, but the many, many fence-sitters kept their positions. The real conflict within the Church still goes on. The differences are still on the surface political, but in reality they are deeply theological. The Barthians remain the "Radicals" whom the traditional and often the nationalistic Lutherans cannot accept.

The bitterness today centres round the whole issue of the cold war, between East and West. Martin Niemöller remains the battle leader of the Christian radicals who say that practical obedience in 1959 can mean only one thing: the renunciation of force and of Western propaganda in combatting Communism. Martin Niemöller is today as impassioned an enemy of all who would countenance nuclear armaments as a legitimate means to defend the so-called free world as he was of those who pacted with Hitler.

The division between those in the Church who still believe that there can be such a thing as a just war and those who firmly believe that to be a soldier in 1959 is both sinful and criminal is deep, and the antagonism great. Niemöller has not hesitated to call the decision on the part of a Christian to accept nuclear armament as practical atheism. Karl Barth gives his whole authority to this view. On the other hand, traditional Lutherans are happy to leave this to the State and openly accept the Roman Catholic view that the Church and her position must, if necessary, be protected with the force of the State.

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These deep divisions are a genuine expression of the dilemma of our times. It is significant that in Germany the issues are being at least squarely faced. No one pretends any longer that these matters are simply a question of opinion. The old question of faith versus works is dead for most people.

The question of obedience

It has been seen that true faith means obedience in the world. Disobedience and heresy are in reality synonyms. So no wonder spirits are deeply moved as to what obedience today really means in practice—not in differences over minor questions, such as whether Christians should drink or not, whether they should play football on Sunday or not. No, questions of Christian law are beside the point. Rather the big question is: what does the Gospel demand of the Church in the world of 1959?

The bitterness bordering on schism that these issues raise in Germany are the more tragic in a Germany divided between East and West. The issues become more than ordinarily complicated—and not surprisingly the majority of clergy remain fence-sitters. These latter, for Martin Niemöller and his friends, have joined the "enemy," for these latter Jesus Christ is not the only authority—they recognise an equivalent State or Western-world or some other concept. They dodge the issue, they refuse to face the Cross; they will not see that the words of Jesus, that he who would save his life must lose it, apply in all sternness to the Church itself.

45 YEARS AGO THIS MONTH

1914: How London went to war

By STEPHEN HOBHOUSE

The writer, Stephen Hobhouse, was imprisoned with Fenner Brockway, MP, from 1916 to 1918 as a conscientious objector. Although today, at the age of 79, he is an invalid, he makes full use of his pen to express his continued opposition to war preparations.

IT is instructive to compare with our war preparations today those made under greatly different circumstances in the summer of the year 1914, before the British Government, aided by Parliament and the Press, plunged our country into a European war. I quote from the notes made at the time and used for my autobiography, "Forty Years and an Epilogue" (James Clarke and Co.).

The crisis came during the week immediately preceding the August Bank Holiday which fell that year on Monday, August 3. I was in London at the time, doing research work in the library of the Society of Friends. On the Thursday I realised from the newspapers that the situation was catastrophic. France and Germany were on the verge of war. I went round to the offices of the Peace Society and the other Peace bodies, but nothing at all was being done to try and meet the crisis—practically everyone likely to act was out of town.

THE NEUTRALITY LEAGUE

Then I heard by chance that a group, composed mainly of young Cambridge University students, under the leadership of a well-known anti-war journalist, Norman Angell, author of "The Great Illusion," had formed themselves into the "Neutrality League," and had opened an office in Whitehall from where they were trying to stir up public opinion against participation in the war by approaching members of the Houses of Parliament, by letters to newspapers, and particularly by street displays of posters and distribution of leaflets. So on that Thursday evening until late on Tuesday night, August 4, when war was declared on

Germany, I helped this group chiefly by giving away its literature in the streets round Trafalgar Square.

I remember one poster, "Why fight for Russia," not a very high motive for neutrality, and yet in all that has happened since 1914 and considering the demons far more dangerous than Czarist Russia and Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany that we have aroused by fighting two wars to unconditional surrender in the guise of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia—in view of all this, might it not have been better for mankind if we had obeyed that poster's suggestion?

PROTEST IN THE RAIN

However at the time, neither this Russian argument nor most of the other "Neutrality League" literature satisfied any Christian conscience; and when on Tuesday I came across a little printer's shop somewhere off the Strand, I got them to print me off for distribution a hundred or two symbolically red handbills setting out in somewhat emotional language the Christian objection to war—"Is this the way of Christ?" Christians, help keep England out of this Wicked War!" and so on.

On Sunday afternoon there was a great anti-war demonstration in Trafalgar Square organised with processions from East London by the trade union and socialist party leaders. George Lansbury, a high-minded and immovable Christian pacifist, was there, and I remember, too, especially the troubled face of the great and good socialist pioneer, Keir Hardie (who died soon after), as he spoke to us from the foot of Nelson's Column, close to where I was standing.

A drenching thunderstorm interrupted the speeches, but the packed crowd stood their ground bravely. The Daily Herald (then a weekly) had posters, "Thou

THE NUCLEAR AGE C.O.

By George Willoughby

George Willoughby, who was one of the Americans who attempted to sail into the Pacific H-test area last year in the ketch Golden Rule, is Executive Secretary of The Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors in the USA.

WE have too long been accustomed to think of the conscientious objector as one opposed to military service because of religious, philosophical, or other scruples. To some the CO is a disgrace to the nation; to others, a hero or saint. In reality he is a reasonably normal and ordinary individual.

In World War II and under the present draft act thousands received CO classifications. However, a few thousands who failed to fit into the legal pigeon holes went to prison. Had there been no conscription there would have been no issue, no problem, for most of the COs.

Compulsory military duty is vestigial in an age of nuclear warfare with its obscene and absolute destructive power. The nuclear age CO cannot wait until drafted to make his witness. He must "volunteer" if he is to abide by his conscience. He can write letters to his Congressmen and organise peace meetings, but ultimately he must serve with his body—by walking, by lying in the road, by suffering imprisonment, or even death.

The nuclear age CO won't necessarily be a man in the prime of life—age 18 to 35. We have seen them as young as eight and well over 70, marching or standing in silent vigil. Nor will women be excluded. Hydrogen warheads simply do not discriminate because of physical condition, age or sex.

The public will find it hard to understand the nuclear age CO. His willingness to disobey an evil, an immoral law, when the occasion demands will enrage those who place the law of man above that of God. Efforts will be made to discredit the CO's loyalty. Nor will the new CO have any legal rights to rely upon. An appeal to the higher moral law places him outside the pale and protection of man-made law. Prison will be his common reward.

This nuclear age CO will vex the government and disturb the peace-makers as he pursues his objective—an end to all war.—Reprinted from News Notes, journal for US conscientious objectors.

Shalt Not Kill," but alas, a week later, after the German invasion of Belgium, the Herald had given way to the popular enthusiasm for the war.

On the Monday I attended a large international meeting of women, which though convened for the discussion of other women's questions, naturally became an outlet for the intense protest of women from many countries against the folly and crime of war. Two days later I paid a visit to one of their leading speakers, but found her helpless in the face of the actual outbreak of hostilities.

On Tuesday the war spirit was rising fast, alcohol was abundant, patriotic slogans were sung in the street, such as the music hall song dating from the Boer War, "We don't want to fight, but, by jingo if we do, we've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money too," with much more stress on the "got" than on the "don't."

On Tuesday evening I was still distributing my handbills of protest after 10 p.m. when the theatres and music halls began to empty, until in the Strand a gang of youths hustled me across the street, tore up my literature, and sent me home to a restless night.

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DIARY

1. Send notices to arrive not later than first post Monday morning.
2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street), nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Saturday, August 8—Saturday, August 15

LONDON, S.W.1: Midnight Sat./Sun. 8/9, Ministry of Labour, St. James's Sq. Picket sympathy David Bell. PYAG.

Friday, August 14

LONDON, W.8: 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Kensington Town Hall. Local Tribunal for COs. Public adm.

Saturday, August 15, to Saturday, August 22

OXFORD: Summer Conference at Springfield St. Mary. Details from Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, 29 Great James St., London, W.C.1.

Wednesday, August 19

LONDON, S.W.4: 7.45 p.m. 27 Clapham Pk. Rd. Mtg. PPU.

Thursday, August 20

CARDIFF: 10.30 a.m. The Conference Suite, 31 Queen St. Local Tribunal for COs. Public adm.

Friday, August 21

BRISTOL: 7.30 p.m. Grant Ho., North Rd., Leigh Woods, buses 18, 83 and 89. Charney Manor document on "Possible agreement with the Russians." PPU.

Sunday, August 23

CRAWLEY DOWN: Gt. Frenches Pk. Coach outing. Ramble. Open-air service, Arthur Peacock Parties. Gladys Gellert, 42 Minet Av., N.W.10. PPU.

Every week!

SUNDAYS

BRADFORD: 8 p.m. Hall Ings Car Park. Open Air Mtg. Bradford PYAG.

GLASGOW: Sundays 8 p.m. Queens Park Gates, Victoria Rd., Open Air Forum; PPU.

LONDON: 3 p.m. Hyde Park. Speaker's Corner. Pacifist Forum. PYAG.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1.2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

H-protest team
for Sahara?

AN attempt may be made soon to send an international protest team into the Sahara where the French are shortly to test their A-bomb. The test site is at El Hammoudia in Algeria, south of the French missile testing grounds stretching from Colomb Bechar to Beni Abbes.

The Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War who are now considering the protest action are seeking support from sympathetic individuals in France, the Secretariat set up by the All-Africa Peoples Conference at Accra, the Committee for Non-violent Action in the USA, and anti-nuclear weapons organisations in Europe.

In addition to the protest from the Ghana Government against the French test, leading Nigerian newspapers, politicians and university lecturers have denounced the test while the Nigerian TUC is calling for a boycott of French goods.

Work camps in
Communist countries

THE value of Voluntary Work Camps in Communist countries is stressed in the Annual Report of Quaker Work Camps issued recently in London by the Friends' Work Camps Committee.

Of last year's camp in Poland, where English, American and Polish campers worked together, the American camp leaders say:

"All learned to respect others as persons and not to consider them as representatives of an abstract philosophy. It was also valuable in that we had many contacts outside the camp, in the government and local community, with the children's colony, and with the Garwolin hospital."

Copies of the report are available from the Friends' Work Camps' Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

Twenty-two months in jail has been given to a young Danish teacher, Laurids Larsen, for refusing compulsory civil defence duties. He has appealed to a higher court and the Danish section of the War Resisters' International has opened a fund for his defence.

The top talks
determine
everything

By FENNER BROCKWAY MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



THE future of Africa, Asia and all the colonial territories is very intimately involved in the forthcoming talks between Eisenhower and Khrushchov. They may change the entire pattern of colonialism.

Let us be clear about the reality in world relationships which the talks signify. They mean that for the next decade at least what America and Russia decide will be the biggest influence in determining everything. Not only peace or war, but international institutions, the social and economic development of distant peoples, and political changes in all the Continents.

This has been the increasingly evident fact ever since the last World War. Now it is recognised openly.

The coming Eisenhower-Khrushchov meetings have been hailed as a triumph for the British Prime Minister and British diplomacy. That is the last thing they are. Mr. Macmillan went to Moscow to reassert European influence. He wanted, first, a Foreign Ministers' conference in which Britain and France would participate with America and Russia. He wanted, secondly, a Summit Conference in which all four nations would take part equally.

Moscow agreed, sceptically and indifferently. "Foreign Ministers never solve anything," said Khrushchov.

The Foreign Ministers have met and achieved nothing. Western disunity has played right into the hands of Russia's contempt.

Britain and France at a Summit Conference? "By all means let them come if they want to," one can hear Khrushchov saying with a shrug of the shoulders. But his realistic aim is to come to terms with America. "If the Big Brothers agree, they can keep order among the Little Brothers," he remarks.

Step forward

In the conditions of the world today, the talks of the two must be wholeheartedly welcomed. The greatest danger for us all is a war threatening human suicide, and an American-Russian agreement could remove this fear. That would be such a step forward for mankind that the names of Khrushchov and Eisenhower would be honoured down the ages.

The implications of the agreement would go much further. Next to the issue of war and peace, the most fateful issue of our time is the struggle of the peoples of Africa and Asia and the Caribbean territories for political freedom and human equality. How will an American-Russian agreement with their common domination of the world affect this revolution?

Theoretically, both America and Russia stand against political colonialism. America won its own independence in a colonial war against Britain. Communism, as interpreted by Lenin, recognised the rights of peoples to self determination, and this was conceded to Finland and the Baltic States, although Russia's behaviour in Central Asia, even under Lenin, was none too good.

But the anti-colonialism of both Russia and of America has been bedevilled by the Cold War. Both have placed the extension of their power, particularly in strategic areas, above the principle of the right of peoples to decide their own destinies.

Communist China also comes into the picture. America's military encirclement has been planned with China as its target as well as Russia. Thus South-East Asia has become important strategically, as we are reminded by current events. American

military personnel and arms in South Viet Nam have enabled its Government to defy the decision of the Geneva Conference for free elections to unify its territory with North Viet Nam. America has met the Defence costs of Laos even though it is supposed to be an independent State. Thailand is armed by America.

If the Eisenhower-Khrushchov talks are to liberate the territories of Asia from foreign military pressures, the thaw in the Cold War must include China. America must agree to China occupying its rightful place in the United Nations. The American-financed military bastion of Formosa must end.

Once the military tension between America and the Communist Powers is eased, we may expect the influence of both sides to revert to anti-colonialism politically. Tibet may have been integrated too far with China to enable a reversal to take place there. A big question mark hangs over Russia's domination of Eastern Europe, with memories of Hungary and the more recent political demonstrations in Poland in mind. But in Asia and in Africa one can expect to see the two decisive World Powers generally opposing the continued occupation of any territories by European Governments.

Rivalry will persist

This does not mean that rivalry will not persist. Russian influence will continue for Communism. American influence will continue for capitalism. And the termination of political imperialism will not mean the end of economic imperialism.

America, relieved of much of its vast arms expenditure, will invest more than ever. Russia will compete with loans at low interest in order to extend the influence of Communism. There is the possibility that a large part of the economy of the developing countries may become in effect American or Russian owned.

The answer to this should be a World Fund under United Nations auspices for construction in the under-developed countries, a fund to which all Governments would contribute in proportion to their resources. Can America and Russia become so internationally-minded to act through such a world effort?

There is the longer-term problem of establishing a healthier balance in the world so that America and Russia no longer dominate. This will emerge as other countries and continents develop economically, but immediately it is time for countries which have maintained their independence of both Washington and Moscow to get even closer together as an international influence.

I should like to see Britain, most of the Commonwealth, Scandinavia, and parts of South America co-operating with them. Such a combination would not only give balance to the world, but could contribute mightily towards the maintenance of peace and the coming of economic equality to all peoples.

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BAN TO BE RECONSIDERED

THE Chairman of the Library Committee of Wimbledon Council, which recently refused to display Peace News in its Reading Room, has given the Council an undertaking that his Committee will reconsider the matter in six months' time.

This undertaking follows vigorous protests made in the borough by local supporters of the paper and members of the Council.



TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, min. 2s. 6d. (Box No. 1s. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Address Box No. replies: Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

MEETINGS

"POLIO AND YOU," Alec Burton. Caxton Hall, Monday, August 17, 7.30 p.m., London Natural Health Society. Details: 70b Coniston Road, N.10.

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WOMAN PN READER in East, forty, interested music, theatre, home, countryside, wishes to meet man similar interests. Box 824.

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SITUATIONS VACANT

PEACE NEWS OFFICE is open up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

RADIATION HAZARDS:

National Committee in Canada

A NATIONAL Committee for the Control of Radiation Hazards may be set up in Canada as the result of the formation of a discussion group on the subject in Montreal. "The idea seems to be catching on in Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg and Saskatoon," K. J. Tarasoff, the Doukhobor writer, reports.

The organisation of the Montreal Canadian Committee for the Control of Radiation Hazards is being undertaken from Box 99, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

The secretary of the Saskatoon Committee for Nuclear Disarmament is: Mrs. Dianna Wright, Sub. P.O. 13, Saskatoon, Sask.



1207 August 14, 1959 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

A PROFITABLE DEMONSTRATION

Americans watch Franco's army
From Christopher Sames

DURING the month of July, General Franco held an immense military operation in La Mancha.

Americans were present as observers of the operation—immediately afterwards the Spanish Minister of Finance went to the United States and gained a loan of \$400,000,000, supposedly for stabilising the devaluation of the peseta. But this was certainly not the case. In fact, already the cost of transport in Spain has risen by 40 per cent.

The result of all this is that Spain has one of the best equipped armies in all Europe and the lowest standard of living.

At the present time Barcelona is in a state of siege with the police preventing by force the starving peasants from entering the city to earn enough money to live.

Danish direct action

● FROM PAGE ONE

the workers worked as slowly as possible aiming at delaying the unloading at least one day!

When the picket ended at 8 p.m. the relationship between the action group and the dock workers was very good and a lot of support from the local people had been experienced. The social-democrat paper "Demokraten" wrote:

"Their demonstration, which has throughout been absolutely peaceful, has given them an opportunity to demonstrate their point of view in a way which has roused sympathy even with people who do not agree with them."

It is the first time such a picket has been arranged in Denmark, but now it has been decided that more demonstrations of this kind shall be made, especially in connection with the erection of the missiles at the launching sites.

FOOTNOTE.—The Nike missiles in Denmark do not have nuclear heads—yet. The government says that they do not want nuclear warheads in the present situation. "But we do not trust the Minister of Defence," AmK-chairman Svend Hugaard stated when the Minister said that it was silly to demonstrate against the missiles because they were not to be fitted with nuclear heads.

THE basic acceptance of war as a permanent part of national life is a fact that merits considerable thought and analysis. It is not only in Britain; it is not only among statesmen and leaders of nations that this is fundamental in the structure of foreign policies, but it is also completely accepted by the peoples of the world.

Nevertheless, "everyone wants peace" is almost the most hackneyed phrase in any language, though the truth is that except for a unique few, everyone believes in war as a means towards peace, and is ready, in the last event, to take part in it.

In spite of the fact that as the years go on, as century succeeds century, it has become increasingly clear that "the remnants" of one war have inevitably set off the fuse near the powder keg, and so-called peace treaties have invariably sown the seeds of the next war, yet the belief in the necessity for war preparation persists.

In the constantly reiterated statements and warnings about the catastrophe of a nuclear war, there is no recognition given to the fact that the possibility of nuclear war was born when the atom bomb was

HIROSHIMA DAY IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

Penitence in place of pageantry

Peace News Reporter.

"HIROSHIMA DAY: Service of Prayer and Dedication for Peace in St. Paul's Cathedral." Holding my order of service I walked up the Nave, treading where in times past sovereigns, statesmen and generals had passed in full pageantry to celebrate national victories and triumphs.

But August 6 was Hiroshima Day, and if no sovereign, statesman, or general would come and kneel in penitence a thousand or so of the common people would.

We sat in silence as the choir, led by Canon Collins and—surely unique in the Cathedral's history—a Quaker, Robert Davies, Chairman of the Friends Peace Committee, entered in procession.

Words familiar to Christians took on new meaning as Canon Collins, Chairman of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, led us through an "Act of Penitence," saying:

"And God said, Let us make man in our image; and let them have dominion over all the earth. And God created man in his own image: male and female created He them. And God blessed them: And God said to them, Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth and subdue it, and have dominion over every living thing that moveth upon the earth."

"Have mercy upon us, O God, for our defilement of thine image in us, and our misuse of the good things which thou hast provided for our use."

"Have mercy upon us," we responded.

"Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him. And the Lord said unto Cain, Where is Abel, thy brother? And he said, I know not: Am I my brother's keeper? And the Lord said, What hast thou done? the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground."

"Have mercy upon us, O God, for the misery caused by man's ignorance, folly, pride and greed; and for the oppression of man by man."

"For the abuse of thy power which thou hast entrusted to mankind; for the suffering, and for the death and bereavement already caused by war, and in particular by nuclear weapons and by the testing of nuclear bombs; and for the fear under which men now live; for the failure of the Christian community, and of individual Christians of our own and past generations, to labour truly for peace; and for our disunity and our lack of sympathy and understanding one for another; have mercy upon us."

A period of silence followed "in memory of all who have suffered and died as a result of war, particularly those who have been killed or poisoned by nuclear explosions; and in recollection of the duty of penitence which rests upon Christians the world over."

My thoughts turned to the relatives of Hirokichi Nagano, 34-year-old Japanese seaman, whose death had been reported in the morning newspapers. He had been exposed to radio-activity from the H-bomb test of July 14, 1958; the test which the crew of the Golden Rule endeavoured to halt.

As we sang the hymn from which Mahatma Gandhi had drawn much inspiration and comfort, "When I survey the wondrous Cross," Canon Collins went up into the pulpit for the sermon:

"The Christian must apply the way of love in national and international affairs," he urged. Pacifists and non-pacifists had come together that day in penitence and to re-dedicate themselves to their work for peace.

The Lesson, with its message of encouragement and good cheer from St. John XVI, 25-33, "These things have I spoken unto you, that in me ye may have peace," was read by the head of the Quaker executive in Britain, Doris Eddington, the Norwich magistrate who did so much to look after the welfare of the Swaffham rocket base demonstrators when they spent Christmas in the city's jail.

After Robert Davies, his grey suit contrasting with the white surplices of the choir, had led us in prayer, we stood to "dedicate ourselves anew to the Cause of Peace."

The service was ending, soon we were out in the sunlight with young people in the churchyard picking up their poster boards for a further march through the city. Peace News sellers were at work again. Strengthened and refreshed, the congregation returned to the struggle to rid the world of the nuclear threat.

[Hiroshima Day Sermon—page 5.]

At a glance

One hundred and sixty-four people died of radiation disease in Japan last year, the Mayor of Hiroshima announced recently.

Arlo Tatum, secretary of the War Resisters' International, will be lecturing in the USA during November. Bookings should be made as soon as possible with the War Resisters' League, 5 Beekman Street, New York 38, N.Y.

The conference on "The Just War," on Sept. 23 mentioned in last week's PN is being organised by the Friends Peace Committee (not The Society of Friends as stated) and Christian Action.

KHRUSHCHOV'S H-TEST PROMISE

MR. KHRUSHCHOV has given an assurance to the European Federation Against Nuclear Arms that Russia will "not be the first to conduct any further tests of nuclear weapons."

The Federation, representing movements against nuclear weapons in ten countries, had requested such an assurance from him and also from President Eisenhower and Mr. Macmillan.

In view of Mr. Khrushchov's reply and of the fact that reports have appeared in the Press that the US Government is considering the resumption of tests in October, the Federation is sending further letters to Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Macmillan asking for urgent and serious consideration of their proposal.

The aims of the Federation, of which Hans Werner Richter is Chairman and Canon Collins vice-chairman, are:

1. The final cessation of all nuclear tests;
2. The cessation of the production of nuclear weapons; and
3. The destruction of all stocks of nuclear weapons.

Footnote.—The Daily Herald reported on Tuesday that West German scientists are helping to produce the atomic bomb which France may explode in the Sahara in a few weeks.

Sweden: 20,000 visit H-bomb exhibition

DURING its six-day showing in Stockholm more than 20,000 people visited the British anti-nuclear weapons exhibition "No Place to Hide" which is now touring Sweden and Denmark. "We expected about 2,000 visitors," said Bertil Svahnström, Secretary of AMSA (campaign against Swedish nuclear weapons). "This has been the biggest anti-war demonstration ever."

After a year of active campaigning AMSA now has about 15,000 supporters. Although the leadership of all the political parties is in favour of the bomb, there is strong rank-and-file support for the campaign from Liberals, Agrarians and Social Democrats, and also from the free churches.

Help wanted in Notting Hill

THE Universities and Left Review Club has appealed for more volunteers to help projects in London's racial conflict area around Notting Hill.

A youth club is being organised in the area as all the regular clubs close during August. Help is needed in establishing the new club.

Information is still being collected about Rent Tribunal cases. Anyone who can help with this or in typing, especially during the day, should contact 59 Cambridge Gardens, W.14 (phone: LAD 3895), which is very near Ladbroke Grove underground station. It is essential to phone before arriving.

but usually desire only to get rid of the most dangerous to themselves. Nuclear weapons are peculiarly dangerous, but are, nevertheless, valuable to those who hold so persistently to the idea that the threat of war will keep the peace.

No doubt it can be argued that it is too much to expect that leaders of countries committed irrevocably to war preparation, even though it is designated "defence," should suddenly lay down their so-called defences; that, in fact, they should repudiate the military background which for so long has been upheld as honourable and heroic, glorious and illustrious.

Yet it is not unknown in the history of nations that faith in an Idea has resulted in the idea becoming real. Those of us who know that it is not possible to liquidate the remnants of war until war itself has been liquidated have the most important and the most far-reaching idea so far conceived by man.

There can be no peace until that Idea has been made real.

By Sybil Morrison

Remnants of war

I believe that the main and principle question now is the liquidation of the remnants of the second world war.

These remnants are like a fuse near a powder keg.

Mr. Khrushchov, Press Conference, August 5, 1959.

used against Japan. These logical and inexorable consequences arising from the natural determination to be victorious in war have over and over again been stressed in these columns, but it is seldom mentioned elsewhere, let alone emphasised.

The round of visits about to be paid by Mr. Eisenhower, and the trip to the USA by Mr. Khrushchov are a vast improvement upon the threatening diplomatic exchanges which have too often heralded national hostilities. Talking, as has often been said before, is always a better exercise than mobilisation of troops.

Nevertheless, there is still no move away from that basic acceptance of war. It is true that Mr. Khrushchov has gone so far as to say that he does not propose to talk

to Mr. Eisenhower with "a rocket showing in one pocket and another rocket in another pocket," since he believes this would not be conducive to peaceful conversations.

This polite gesture towards his host does not, however, in the least obviate the fact that rockets though not actually showing in his pockets are just as much there, as American missiles are in Mr. Eisenhower's; they may all, perhaps, have been left in the hall, but will undoubtedly be picked up again on the way out whatever subjects the talks have covered.

It is unlikely that the talks will include questions of disarmament, and even if they did, it is too well known that disarmament conferences have invariably failed because the nations do not wish to discard arms,